NATIONAL REVIEW

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July 18, 1956

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF OPINION

The Anatomy of Neutralism

EUGENE LYONS

The Battle of Oregon

ALFRED M. COOPER

Mr. Eisenhower's Third Party

AN EDITORIAL

Articles and Reviews by · · · · · WILLMOORE KENDALL

RUSSELL KIRK · E. v. KUEHNELT-LEDDIHN · SAM M. JONES

L. BRENT BOZELL · REVILO OLIVER · GERALDINE FITCH

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from WASHINGTON *straight*

A NEWSLETTER

SAM M. JONES

No Federal School Aid

Despite a barrage of telegrams to members of Congress from the National Education Association in support of federal aid to schools, the issue looks like a dead duck in this Congress. In the unlikely event that the bill should get by the House, it would meet protracted strangulation by filibuster in the Senate. The Powell Amendment, which would ban funds to states that have not integrated their schools, has aroused fiery opposition from the South but there is also a determined bipartisan resistance to what some legislators describe as "an entering wedge in the control of public schools."

Strange Censorship

New York newspapers and many others, as well as press associations, reported a speech by Agnes E. Meyer in New York on June 27, in which she charged that Eisenhower is the captive of a propaganda machine which puts false words in his mouth. The Washington Post and Times Herald (of which Mrs. Meyer's husband is board chairman) apparently found the accusation unnewsworthy. It reported the speech but failed to note any criticism of Mr. Eisenhower or his associates. Commented Tom Donnelly, columnist of the Washington Daily News: "J. Russell Wiggins, executive editor of the Post, is ex-chairman of the Freedom of the Press Committee of The American Society of Newspaper Editors and a tireless and eloquent discourser on The People's Right to Know. Mr. Wiggins, meet Mrs. Meyer."

Add Nixon Rumors

Was Vice President Richard Nixon sent on his current round-the-world junket to ease him out of renomination and prepare him to succeed the reputedly tired John Foster Dulles? There are Capitol rumors to that effect. They are plausible—except that it is hard to believe Nixon's enemies would be much less unhappy with him as Secretary of State than in his present office.

Defy Taboo?

For months there have been rumors that the Democratic Party might defy a long-standing political taboo by giving a Roman Catholic a place on the national ticket. Today there is evidence of Protestant as well as Catholic support for three Catholics regarded as Vice-Presidential possibilities. Governor Lausche of Ohio, Senator Kennedy of Massachusetts and Mayor Wagner of New York are all "in the running" in a field where there is no outstanding favorite.

Liberal "News"

In a recent front-page story, Chalmers M. Roberts, staff reporter for the Washington Post, posed a rhetorical question: "Is the United States heading toward a mid-century form of isolationism?" After briefly reviewing foreign-aid trends in the Senate, Mr. Chalmers answered himself apprehensively: "...the debates, and a check by this reporter with a number of Democratic Senators, do indicate that a storm warning has been raised, that today's uncertainty could turn into tomorrow's disaster if some momentous steps are not taken in the coming months...."

Opportunity Overlooked?

The White House has done nothing in the session of Congress now ending to improve relations with Right-wing Republicans; nor has it even missed an opportunity to widen the breach. As syndicated columnist Holmes Alexander (McNaught) points out: "Eisenhower missed a chance to help himself with Old Guard Republicans when he sent Vice President Nixon and not General MacArthur to represent this country at the tenth independence anniversary of the Philippines ...They [MacArthur's GOP friends] rightly felt that nobody could have been more appropriate than the Liberator of the Philippines and the best-loved American in their history. It's things like this that make Old Guard Republicans stay away on election day..."

Dr. Harry (Warwick) Truman

Former President Truman has been invited to elucidate the European (and of course the world) picture for the benefit of National Press Club members; but most correspondents will be more interested in questioning him on his purported support of "Honest Ave" Harriman for the Democratic Presidential nomination. The Albany-Washington grapevine continues to insist that Dr. Truman will turn the Stevenson tide to Harriman "at the proper psychological moment."

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NATIONAL REVIEW

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF OPINION

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The WEEK

● Casually ignoring the constitutional provisions that vest in Congress the power and duty to determine the country's military establishment, Secretary of Defense Charles E. Wilson declared that he would not use the $960 million which Congress explicitly appropriated for the stepped-up production of B-52 bombers.

● Senator Jenner's influence and popularity in his home state were never so evident as in last week's hotly-contested Republican Convention. The delegates gave a smashing second-ballot victory to Lieutenant Governor Harold W. Handley, Mr. Jenner's candidate for the gubernatorial nomination. Governor George N. Craig, the state's leading Eisenhower Republican, had labeled Handley "unacceptable."

● Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell has come out for union shops. In a recent speech in New York, he branded right-to-work laws "basically anti-labor," and urged their repeal. Mr. Mitchell's was the second blow "right-to-work" forces have received in recent weeks. Earlier in the month Louisiana repealed its right-to-work law.

● The West German Bundestag heard a long and bitter diatribe against Chancellor Konrad Adenauer's allegedly "unimaginative" and "inflexible" approach to Moscow, then voted 220 to 135 to support his unification policy. (See "Foreign Trends.") Dr. Adenauer reiterated his conviction that the Federal Republic can achieve the reunification of Germany only by relying on the West for help.

● In their first reaction to the Poznan uprising, both the Italian Communist Party and its fellow-traveling ally, Pietro Nenni's Socialist Party, expressed sympathy with the protesting workers and criticism of the Polish Communist regime. *Paese Sera,* an official Communist paper, conceded that a demonstration on such a scale could not be the work of provocateurs but must reflect mass discontent: a view in sharp contradiction to Moscow's subsequent explanation that it was all a plot of American agents.

● The Portuguese Minister of Defense, Colonel Fernando Santos Costa, has quietly announced that the air bases at Montijo and Espinho will be enlarged and placed at the disposal of NATO, more particularly

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of the United States and Great Britain. The important base operated by the United States in the Portuguese-governed Azores will also be strengthened under a new agreement. Colonel Santos Costa remarked that "certain recent international developments"—presumably the chance that the U.S. may lose the bases in Iceland and North Africa—speeded the Portuguese decision. "The agreements," he concluded, "have been negotiated in the best of spirits and carried out with friendship and generosity."

● American consumers added 331 million dollars to their installment indebtedness in May—the largest single monthly increase, says the Federal Reserve Board, on record. Americans were on the cuff for 4.4 billion dollars more than in May 1955.

● Dr. George K. C. Yeh, Foreign Minister of the Chinese Nationalist Government, has just completed a visit to Thailand, one of the members of the American-supported Southeast Asia Treaty Organization. To the surprise of observers, who had accepted Peiping's propaganda claim to the allegiance of "overseas Chinese," Dr. Yeh was warmly received by many of Thailand's three million Chinese residents.

● Though the Hoover Commission wound up its investigations of the Executive Branch a year ago, only 5 per cent of the reforms it recommended in behalf of efficient government have been adopted. The Commission estimated that its 314 recommendations would save 8.5 billion dollars annually. Those recommendations that have been accepted have already resulted in an annual saving of 500 million dollars.

● Air Force Chief of Staff General Nathan F. Twining describes his week in the Soviet Union as "worthwhile," but admits his party brought home no new information about Soviet airpower. The Russians came off somewhat better: they can include new evidence of Soviet-American friendship in their future propaganda output to neutralist nations.

● Not to be outdone, British officials at the Moscow air show invited thirty Soviet aviation officers to take a spin in one of *their* planes. The officers climbed aboard a Comet II, fastened their safety belts, and braced themselves for the takeoff. Half an hour later, with nothing having happened in the meantime—for the engines simply wouldn't start—they unfastened their seat belts and deplaned, leaving H. M.'s Air Force undone.

● When Senator Case of South Dakota revealed last February that someone had offered him $2,500 to vote for the natural gas bill, which he intended to vote for anyway, he kicked up the fuss that led to the President's veto. United Auto Workers Union President Walter Reuther has now revealed that he spent $38,762 of Auto Workers' money lobbying against the same bill. Any similarity between the two forms of pressure is, however, coincidental, for we have Mr. Reuther's word for it that the UAW was "fighting the battle of the American People."

● At the Commonwealth conference in London, Prime Minister Johannes G. Strijdom of the Union of South Africa charged that Communist factions have largely directed and sustained the bitter resistance to the French in Algeria. Moscow, he warned, may well advance the entire length of Africa, once it has an "independent" Algeria to use as its base.

● Since 1951, ten thousand Chinese fishermen have escaped to freedom by sailing their fragile junks and fishing boats to the Matsu Islands, Formosa, Hong Kong and Macao. They continue, day after day, to arrive in twos or threes, sometimes in flotillas of a dozen or more junks, despite stepped-up shore and sea patrolling by the Chinese Communists.

● One major item of proposed U.S. expenditure abroad failed to get mentioned in the recent debate on foreign aid, namely: the one billion six hundred million dollars plus that American tourists will spend in foreign travel this year. Though presumably not less valuable to dollar-short economies than expenditures on highways from nowhere to nowhere in Iran, tourist expenditures *are* less interesting: the spenders spend voluntarily, and they have something to show for their money—if only cirrhosis of the liver and fallen arches.

● Eighty-seven nations have been invited to an "atoms for peace" conference in New York on September 10. Three, however—Nationalist China, South Korea and South Vietnam, all victims of Chinese Communist aggression—will receive special invitations, which will note that the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and India do not wish them to attend. The United States agreed to making it clear that these three nations, in virtue of their record of resisting tyranny by force of arms, would be unwelcome guests.

● Two years ago the Soviet Government told Russian city dwellers, with an eye to a momentary shortage of meat and milk, that they could go ahead and raise cows and sheep. It is now cracking down on such private ownership, alleging that it has "corrupted" the "unstable part of the population," and disorganized "socialist production." And so it had: the cattle and sheep population had increased by several million, and some urban "farmers" had abandoned their regular jobs out of an unsocialist desire to get along.

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End of the Masquerade

Your Sergeant Death, as Shakespeare calls him, is a great stripper-off of masks, particularly when he comes revolver in hand. Not all the perfumes of Muscovy can wash the Poznan blood off the Kremlin's face, which, behind Stalin's genial pipe or Khrushchev's affable grin, is revealed in the first flash of a security guard's gun to be ever the same grim visage of terror and brutality. Machine guns, bombers, tanks: this is the answer of Communism to the call for bread and freedom.

And as they rolled over Polish bodies the Communist tanks flattened also the soft rhetoric of our George Kennans and Stewart Alsops, our experts and smug journalists, who have been telling us how the Soviet regime has come to be accepted by its subjects, how (in Kennan's servile words) "there is a finality, for better or worse [*sic*], about what has . . . occurred in Eastern Europe." The people of Poznan, clasping hands as they faced the tanks, demanding food and decent working conditions and an end to Moscow's rule, and the soldiers who joined them instead of firing on them: these in one day communicated more of the truth about the Soviet Empire than a decade's dispatches by correspondents and diplomats.

The embryo revolt in Poznan was not isolated, but the latest act in a series that extends over the past four years: the slave labor revolts beginning in 1952, before Stalin's death, in the Vorkuta complex; the East German uprising; the large-scale recent fighting in Eastern Tibet; the riots in Tiflis. Every such demonstration proves, contrary to the skeptics, that a policy of liberation is closer to Soviet realities than any policy of containment or coexistence.

But to pursue a policy of liberation is serious business, not an occasion for election-year oratory. It is a lie when *Pravda* states that the Poznan affair was a plot by CIA or Radio Free Europe. But it is an important part of the truth to say that the occasional statements on liberation made by the President, his Secretary of State and the Vice President, have helped to keep alive the spirit of resistance and hope which has periodically exploded as at Vorkuta, East Berlin and Poznan. Tragically, what the Poznan uprising once more shows is the emptiness, even the hypocrisy, of these glib phrases about "liberation," the frequency of which seems to increase so notably in an election year. Washington's talk may be about liberation, but its practice is withdrawal, coexistence, appeasement.

Each time that the East Europeans *act* on the premise of liberation, Washington is taken wholly by surprise. The actors receive no guidance, no aid, no comfort from us. They die, and our officials continue with the latest round of efforts to persuade those who shot them of our peaceful and friendly intentions.

The slave laborers of Vorkuta, the German workers of June 1953, the Poznan citizens of yesterday, prove that they are ready to die fighting their enemy, who is also ours. But by our vacillation—by our emptiness—we condemn them to die in vain. Therefore our cheek also is stained with their blood.

Mr. Eisenhower's Third Party

Mr. Robert Donovan's unprecedented book on Dwight Eisenhower's first three years as President is reviewed in the Book Section of this issue. The reviewer takes note of (but does not linger over) the revelation that so impatient did the President become with assorted Republicans in 1953 that he gave "profound attention" to the possibility of founding a brand new political party, that is to say, one unencumbered by persons or traditions or commitments uncongenial to Eisenhower or to the Eisenhower "Program."

That revelation has embarrassed a good many people. There are those who marvel at the innocence of a man who, as President, brings to his job such scanty knowledge of American institutional realities as to ponder seriously such a move. But such persons, on the whole, are quick to forgive Mr. Eisenhower, for distrustful as they are of the machinery by which political power is normally won in the U.S., they find understandable the exasperation of an "amateur" with practical politics.

But the lives of other persons, Mr. Leonard Hall, for example, are more seriously inconvenienced. For they know that, in 1956 as in 1952, many Republicans thoroughly unsympathetic to the Eisenhower program will be asked to vote the Republican ticket in the interest of party loyalty, and to preserve the machinery without which effective political action is impossible. Many persons to whom such an appeal will be made in the next months will ask themselves, sometime before November, whether more is not being expected of them, by way of loyalty to the party, than the head of the party himself showed in 1953.

But beyond the possible political consequences of Mr. Donovan's book, there are other reasons why it is significant.

More clearly than in any other published document, the book betrays the President's ignorance of the role of the political party in the electoral mechanism. He shows, moreover, in this and in other acts graphically depicted by Mr. Donovan, an almost obsessive impatience with dissent of any kind. That impatience is not justified as being of the kind exhibited by a philosopher whose system or political cosmos is made a shambles by logical deviation; nor

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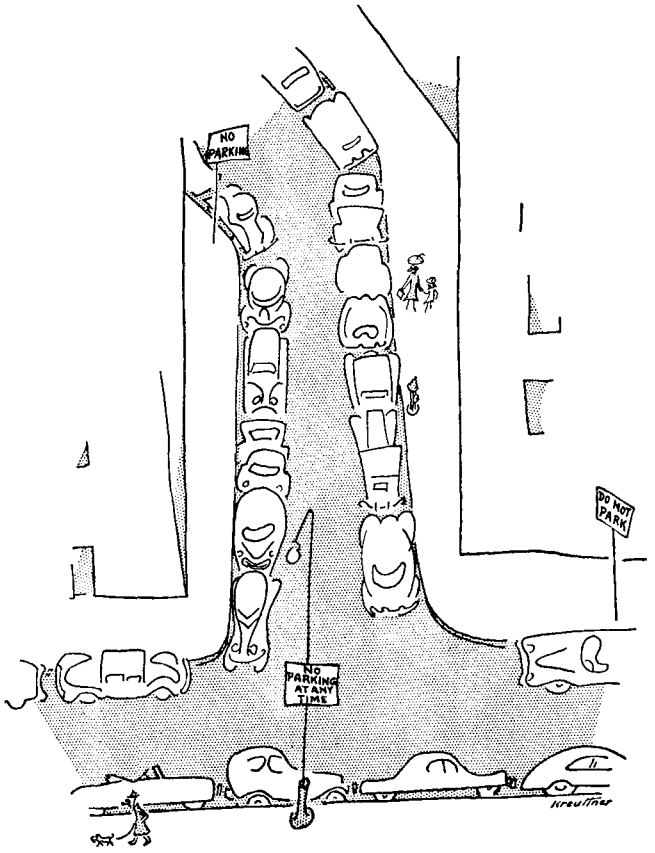
is it an impatience of the kind an artist might show if a color were a little bit off, or a single instrument out of tune, rendering the whole ugly, or dissonant; for the Eisenhower program does not rest either on orderly philosophical principle or on inspired artistic unity: it is nothing more than a pedestrian blend of pragmatism, mid-century liberalism, and undifferentiated goodnaturedness out of which it is impossible to distill either system or art.

Thus Mr. Eisenhower is not impatient with Senator Jones or Congressman Smith in the sense that Galileo would be impatient with a pupil who plotted Venus here rather than there, or Toscanini would be impatient with a flutist who struck B-flat rather than B-natural. He gets exasperated because they disagree with him and, worse, refuse to carry out orders. He, and the palace guard, attempted in 1953 to domesticate such mavericks. With the death of Senator Taft (who is revealed as having blown up at the President at a conference that spring), the Executive steamroller was no longer held at bay by the immovable obstacle, and it began to roll. With considerable success. Still, individual politicians refused to conform, and that is what set the President to thinking, "profoundly," of resorting to the ultimate sanction of political exile. For that is what the foundation of a new party, by Eisenhower, would have been designed to effect: the exile from active political life of all dissidents within the Republican fold. A purge, pure and simple.



"Climate of Fear"

We have held in these columns that the evidence points to the Caesarization of Eisenhower as being a passive process: Anthony—certain politicians, and the palace guard—keeps thrusting the crown at him, but Eisenhower keeps turning it down. Eisenhower's intentions, it remains certain even after the publication of Mr. Donovan's book, are not sinister. But there is reason now to look suspiciously—and with increased alertness—at Mr. Eisenhower himself; for Mr. Donovan shows him to be lacking in the essential humility which is the only certain guarantee that the crown will never be accepted.

The UN's Refugee Fund

Congress is being asked, as usual, to appropriate money for the United Nations Refugee Fund, an agency headed by one Dr. van Heuven Goedhart, a Dutchman, and designed to give aid and comfort to refugees. Last year, Countess Alexandra Tolstoy, who has for years supplied help, raised from private sources, to refugees from Communism, wrote to Senator Knowland and other members of the Senate Appropriations Committee to insist that, on the record, Dr. Goedhart should not be trusted to administer such a fund. Her warning went unheeded.

Last May, the indefatigable Mr. Julius Epstein, who has for years devoted himself to prodding Congress and the public on the subject of forced repatriation (see NATIONAL REVIEW, December 21) called to the attention of the Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate a preface by Goedhart in the Dutch edition of a book published in 1945 by two prominent American Communists, Michael Sayers and Albert E. Kahn, called *The Great Conspiracy Against Soviet Russia.* (Sample passage from the book: "The first great realization which came out of the Second World War was that the Red Army, under Marshal Stalin, was the most competent and powerful force on the side of world progress and democracy.") Accosted with the fact, Dr. Goedhart, impenitent, called his preface to the book "one of the best I've ever written," the accusations against it "nonsense," and volunteered a few irrelevancies about the victimization of J. Robert Oppenheimer.

To such a man, Congress is being asked to give money, to assist refugees from Communism. Senator Jenner finds it "outrageous and scandalous that a man who would so associate himself with Communists should have to be looked to [for help] by refugees . . . subject to Soviet pressure."

Will Congress stand up on its hind legs and fight? If federal money is to be appropriated for refugees

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—who should be helped, instead, by private organizations, such as Countess Tolstoy's—why not appropriate it for the U.S. Escapee Program, which is run by the State Department?

On the Same Day

Premier Chou En-lai of Communist China, describing the surrender of Formosa as the "common will of six hundred million Chinese people," and thus inevitable, has offered to initiate surrender negotiations with the Nationalist authorities.

Premier Chou, speaking over Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek's head to the homesick and lonely Free Chinese on Formosa, urged them to reunite with their families in their "nation and motherland." Promising rich rewards to any who would "patriotically" subvert the independence of Formosa, he warned against reliance on foreign allies who "are by no means dependable forces."

A few hours before Premier Chou En-lai's statement was released, Ambassador Hollington K. Tong of the Republic of China addressed the China Institute of America. He recalled the twenty to twenty-five million Chinese executed by the Communist regime; the tens of millions condemned to slave labor camps; the concern Red newspapers have shown over rampant and accelerating sabotage and guerrilla warfare; and their acknowledgment that subversion has entered "an acute and complicated stage."

Certainly, Dr. Tong declared, "the resisting and unreconciled people" of China yearn for "their country, their way of life, their religions, their humanities, their clean decencies of customs and standards," and find them in Formosa. "One way or another," he concluded, "we shall hold on until with God's help, we shall prevail."

Out of Their Own Mouths

Our domestic Communist Party, with characteristic impudence, is petitioning the Subversive Activities Control Board for reconsideration of a three-year-old ruling on its status under the Internal Security Act. It alleges 1) that it, along with its counterparts in certain other countries, has turned its back on past policies and actions reflecting "uncritical acceptance" of certain views and acts "of the Soviet Government and the Soviet Communist Party," 2) that its leaders have several times "criticized current policies" of the Soviet Government and the Soviet Communist Party, 3) that it can document both the foregoing points, and 4) that, *therefore,* it should not be required to register as an organization "nurtured by the Soviet Union."

The petition clearly bears upon its face the reasons for its denial. The party repudiates not all acts reflecting "uncritical acceptance," but just "acts." It renounces "uncritical acceptance" of *certain* views and acts of the Soviet Government, thus confessing itself guilty of uncritically accepting the remainder. And these acts of the Soviet Union which the American branch of the Communist Party turns out not to accept uncritically are the same acts that current leaders of the Soviet Union themselves renounce! The petition, in a word, is reminiscent of the one joke in Marx's *Kapital*—that about the servant-girl who explained away the illegitimate baby she had just borne on the grounds that "after all, it was a very small baby." The Control Board should permit the party to re-register as "for the moment, only partly dominated by Moscow," and let it go at that.

Diehard

The recent vote against extending aid to Tito's Yugoslavia was not large enough to carry the day. But it served to show that there remains in the Senate of the United States a fairly sizeable group of men who are prepared, even in the teeth of merciless pressures by an all but omnipotent Executive, to register a diehard opposition to such ventures in national stupidity as aid to Tito. Those who look for evidence that all members of the Republican Party have not been totally inculcated in the ways of Progressive Moderation can find aid and comfort in the fact that twenty-three Republican Senators voted against aid to Yugoslavia (and two others, who were absent from the floor, expressed themselves as being against such aid), while twenty-one backed the Administration.

There were some interesting anomalies: normally sober Senator Dirksen, solicitous of Executive support for his impending campaign, toed the Eisenhower line. Normally sycophantic Senator Wiley, in trouble in Wisconsin and anxious, this time, to establish his independence of the Eisenhower line, voted *against* aid.

Here are the Senators who were prepared to repudiate Tito—and the Administration's position on aid to Tito: Barrett, Bricker, Bridges, Butler, Case (S.D., needless to say), Cotton, Curtis, Dworshak, Flanders, Goldwater, Hruska, Jenner, Knowland, Langer, Malone, McCarthy, Millikin, Mundt, Potter, Schoeppel, Smith, Welker, Wiley, Williams and Young. All honor.

NATIONAL REVIEW is proud to announce that three artists, Mr. C. D. Batchelor, Mr. A. Derso and Mr. John D. Kreuttner, have joined the magazine as "associates and contributors."

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NATIONAL TRENDS

L. BRENT BOZELL

The Senate Debates Foreign Aid

MR. MCCARTHY . . . There is . . . always the strongest kind of presumption that two Communist nations will fight on the same side in the battle between Communism and freedom. This means that in order to responsibly pursue the hope that two Communist nations — such as Yugoslavia and Russia — will not end up side by side, we must have positive and cogent evidence that those two countries present an exception to the rule. I contend that every item of evidence available to us points directly the other way . . . In the area of action [Tito's foreign policy] has consistently supported the Soviet Union on every point on which the Soviet Union and the free world are in disagreement . . . [Mr. Dulles has said] that we must not "drive the Yugoslavs into the Russian camp." . . . What sense does it make to say that we must not drive Tito into the Russian camp when all the evidence tells us that Tito is already as far into the Russian camp as he can get?

MR. GEORGE . . . Is [the purpose of our foreign program] *to hand out money to someone we like? . . . If that is the purpose, then we are quite crazy to have introduced it . . . and continued it . . . All we can do is to give some support to bring about certain conditions which we believe will be in the interest of this country if and when we are faced with an aggressive movement* . . . [If we deny him aid] *how will* [Tito] *be able to get ammunition for American guns? . . . we shall be wasting time if we drive that strong military force into the use of Russian arms and Russian munitions. I am willing to leave it to the President.*

MR. MORSE . . . *this is the most difficult section of the bill . . . I believe we should cast our lot with the President of the United States . . . I plead with the Senate not to give up hope with respect to Yugoslavia because I think we may still prevent Tito from going over to Russia . . . the doubts should be resolved in favor of the President. . . .*

MR. LONG . . . The argument [for continued aid is] fundamentally . . . that if we should [cut off aid] . . . we could be sure that Tito would go over to the Communists. It is a case of saying, "Here is a man who may be our enemy any day; he may be our enemy now. But we *do* know, gentlemen, that if we do not keep handing him American money . . . he will be our enemy; we feel sure of that." . . . [This] is a far cry from the day when a famous American said "Millions for defense, but not one cent for tribute."

MR. SMITH of New Jersey . . . *I am happy to rise on this side of the aisle to express my confidence in the President of the United States . . . No one has a better understanding of world conditions, world peace and world difficulties; and no one knows the situation with respect to Yugoslavia better than does the President of the United States. In any event, he is our President, our Commander in Chief . . . I maintain that for us to say at this point that we will not give the President . . . discretion, when he is asking for it, and when he knows so much more about the subject than any of us do, is unthinkable. . . .*

MR. THYE . . . *Mr. President, this is a question on which men can honestly differ . . . I believe that we must stand with our President. We must stand with the Secretary of State. Those two gentlemen have all the information at their command . . .*

MRS. SMITH of Maine . . . Tito has announced Yugoslavia's determination to stand side by side with Communist Russia . . . We have gambled a billion dollars on Tito and lost . . . Tito is nothing less than an international blackmailer . . . it is about time that we stopped paying blackmail and thus encouraging other nations to play the Tito game against us . . .

MR. LEHMAN . . . *of course, no one can possibly be certain of what is going to happen in the future, but it seems to me that we would be making a serious mistake if at this time we should tie completely the hands of the President . . .*

MR. O'MAHONEY . . . *Does not the Constitution of the United States vest in the President the control of the foreign policy of the United States? . . .*

MR. BRIDGES. The Senator from Wyoming talks about the giving of military aid to another country . . . Why does he not get the Constitution of the United States and read it? If he can find anything in the Constitution about the President having the sole right to the giving of military aid to a foreign country, I should like to see it. The Constitution provides that Congress shall have the final determination of that so why is not this the time to decide it right here and now?

[By a vote of 50-38, the Senate decided to reject Senator Bridges' amendment requiring the immediate cessation of aid to Tito, and left the matter in the President's untied hands. Next day, Senator Douglas suggested the creation of a "Freedom Administration"—a new federal agency whose job would be to administer the U.S.'s concern for captive peoples by making grants to organizations "actively engaged in . . . activities designed to keep alive the spirit of hope and freedom (in Communist countries)." Minnesota's Humphrey rose to second the motion.]

MR. HUMPHREY . . . The amendment ought to be adopted to indicate . . . that the *people of the United States . . . have not forgotten their friends and their neighbors in other areas of the world who aspire to national independence and national freedom, and who are willing literally to lay down their lives to throw off the yoke of Communist imperialism and Communism . . .*

MR. MCCARTHY. I wonder how the Senator from Minnesota voted yesterday on the Bridges Amendment . . .

MR. HUMPHREY . . . *I voted to support the President of the Untied States . . . I was not willing to substitute my opinion regarding what should be done in this instance for the opinion of the President . . . I thought that, at least, inasmuch as the President was as sick as he was, it might be good to give him a little expression of faith.*

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The Anatomy of Neutralism

The neutralists of the Free World, encouraged by Mr. Eisenhower's defense of their position, are moving complacently toward annihilation

EUGENE LYONS

The word "neutralism" entered the lexicon of the cold war about a decade ago. Originally, it connoted complacency in the face of unmitigated evil, political escapism, desertion of mankind's common cause. Some countries—Finland, for instance—were regarded as "neutralist" by necessity, because of their exceptional vulnerability to Soviet pressures. But no one claimed that their neutralist stand was somehow noble, or proof of a special love for "peace."

The word has gradually shed its unpleasant overtones, however, and acquired honorific status. More and more people think of neutralist policies, in consequence, as reflecting some peculiar virtue—the capacity to remain calm and impartial and tolerant in a period of hot partisan passions. President Eisenhower himself, nominally the generalissimo of free-world forces, went out of his way recently to acknowledge neutralism as a respectable doctrine. And British Labor leader Hugh Gaitskell, on his way home after an American sojourn, when asked whether he had observed any noteworthy change in American foreign policy, replied in substance: Yes, the United States has drawn closer to the British view that neutralism is not an "unfriendly" position.

Think how public opinion would have been shocked if, a few years ago, a Far Eastern statesman visiting America had announced that the new nations of Asia would "gladly accept any assistance that may come, from whatever quarter." President Sukarno said just that to our Congress the other day, in a speech in which "from whatever quarter" clearly meant "from Communist sources." And the speech, when it was noticed at all by editorial writers (in the *Wall Street Journal*, for instance), rated warm approval.

We have, in a word, largely accommodated ourselves to the neutralist stance. And the extent to which we have done so is a good measure of the decline of both moral sensitivity and the very will to survive in the non-Soviet portion of the world.

For at the heart of neutralism is the morally intolerable premise that the cold war is simply a conventional conflict between two power-hungry countries, the U.S. and the USSR; that the Soviet bloc of nations and the American bloc are really the same breed of animal, involved in a private quarrel that prudent and "peace-loving" governments can ignore with a clear conscience; and that neither bloc has any inherent claim upon the sympathy and allegiance of civilized men.

The falsity and moral shabbiness of this premise would, I repeat, have seemed obvious a few years ago. Only persons who were wilfully ignorant of the nature of Communism and the enormity of its threat, we thought then, could hold that the cold war was of no real importance to anyone but the two competing power groups. Yet today this view has been raised to the level of superior statesmanship.

Applause Demanded

Far from being apologetic about their neutralism, far from justifying it in terms of inescapable necessity, the Nehrus and U Nus and Sukarnos and their counterparts in the West take pride in their aloofness from the decisive struggle of our historical period. They don't simply ask for understanding; they demand applause. They have rationalized a position originally adopted out of fear or calculated opportunism, and palmed it off as valor and high wisdom. And the rest of the world—though, through inertia, it still employs the vocabulary of freedom and moral imperatives—has so thoroughly forgotten the real stakes in the contest with Communism that it no longer seriously takes issue with them about it.

Inside the Soviet empire, opponents of the Red regimes (and in the satellite states they are certainly the overwhelming majority of the population) have no illusions on the score of neutralism. They know that those who are not with them, who are for any reason indifferent to their fate, are against them.

That is why the Geneva "summit" conference, suggesting as it did that even the United States and its allies had been converted to neutralism, set up behind the Iron Curtain tides of despair that have not yet wholly receded. People there know that the new respectability granted to neutralism amounts to a surrender, and thus dooms their hopes for liberation; and they understand why the Kremlin, in counting its forces, publicly lists neutralist countries and parties in the pro-Soviet columns. Only in the free world are there men who think of themselves as anti-Communist and yet manage to approve of neutralism.

Once we accept, even by indirection, the notion that the cold war is simply an old-style power struggle, we disarm ourselves spiritually. We strip the confrontation of precisely those ideological meanings which alone can sustain resistance to Communism inside and outside the Communist bloc—this at a time when the enemy, for all his mouthing of co-existence slogans, remains fanatically dedicated to his ideological crusade. If the contest, on our side, is emptied of its human significance, we have nothing left but reliance on physical force and on allies—bought, suborned or intimidated.

Webster's defines neutralism as a "rare" synonym for neutrality. But nothing could be more misleading in the present situation. Neutrality as

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traditionally practiced by, say, Switzerland, neutrality as counseled by George Washington in his Farewell Address, has little in common with neutralism as we know it today. Conventional neutrality was a concept developed through centuries of conflicts for dynastic, territorial or economic advantages. It was a decision to keep hands off other people's quarrels, and had no moral connotations. It did normally involve a clear choice between good and evil.

The "Ism" of Cowardice

Today's cold war, and the hot war it may ultimately engender, do not fit into the foregoing historical pattern. They constitute, in the common but accurate phrase, a struggle between totalitarianism and freedom. And if Communism triumphs, the neutralists will be as completely sunk as those who faced up to the challenge.

People have sensed this difference and, steering clear of the familiar and unemotional word neutrality, have adopted neutralism instead to mark the contrast. They know that the man who stands aside, feigning detachment, while pyromaniacs are setting fires all around him, is abetting the pyromaniacs—even if he professes to believe that his own house will be spared. He is not a neutral but a neutralist. And "neutralist" is a euphemism for evasion or cowardice or, at best, political paralysis under the impact of danger.

The neutralist closes his eyes to the long-run risk to justify avoidance of lesser immediate risks. In his heart he is conscious that his aloofness, however unavoidable, is immoral and humiliating. Consequently he is under psychological duress to make the Soviets look better and America worse than they are, in order that he may pronounce a plague on both their houses with some semblance of conviction. By explaining away the Kremlin's crimes, on the one hand, and inventing or exaggerating American sins on the other, he seeks to obliterate the moral gulf that separates the two worlds.

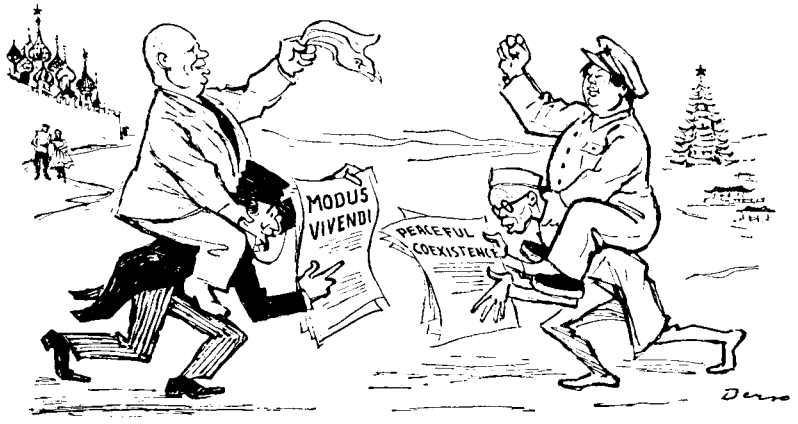
It is no accident that neutralist leaders find difficulty in conceding any merit to the American system, and that they seize upon every Communist tactical zigzag as proof that Communism has at last reformed itself. "The Indians," a writer recently remarked, "feel that you cannot be neutral about colonialism." At the same time, however, Nehru and his associates proudly proclaim their neutralism about the piled-up horrors and aggressions of Communism, and overlook the fact that Red Russia and Red China are today the world's only expanding colonial powers.

Neutralism, then, because it compromises with principle, whittles away at moral values, and extends tolerance to Communism (at least within the latter's present frontiers), must be written down as the besetting disease of our time. It is moral amnesia. Nor is it to be found only in those nations that unabashedly call themselves neutralist. For it is affecting the governments and the public opinions of countries that formally still reject the neutralist posture.

Take, for instance, the anxious search for a *modus vivendi* with the Communist world—what is it but an attempt to make the Nehru policy universal? Even those of our statesmen and opinion-makers who oppose "peaceful coexistence" do not argue that it is wrong to freeze the *status quo* of a world half-free half-slave, but only that the Soviet offer to do so is "insincere," a trick. Many of them would be quite willing to settle for a divided world, to buy their own freedom at the price of conceding permanent enslavement of those no longer free, if the Kremlin could be trusted to keep its promises.

Take, again, the hospitality we are extending to Soviet leaders, missions, delegations, or the panting eagerness of Western businessmen to make a fast ruble in trade with the Communist bloc; or the admiring tributes to Soviet technological and economic accomplishments (as if these could cancel out four decades of murder and mischief). Take our readiness to help Moscow solve its agricultural problem by providing farm machinery, seeds, and know-how. All these are typical expressions of the neutralist mood.

Back in Hitler's day, the arrival of one allegedly Nazi actress in Hollywood touched off a storm of indignation. Today, by contrast, an American producer can announce his intention to do a series of movies in collaboration with the Soviets, and evoke not a syllable of protest. Today, by contrast, American crowds turn out to cheer visiting Communist officials and secret-police officers posing as "Soviet farmers"; churchmen on a junket to Soviet Russia are politely silent about the thousands of Orthodox priests massacred by the Red regimes and the thousands still languishing in prisons and concentration camps; the continuing captivity of innocent Americans in Communist prisons and forced-labor camps fails to arouse real anger in their own homeland. These, too, are typical expressions of the neutralist mood.



Whatever else the posthumous purge of Stalin may mean, it involves a confession on the part of the Soviet dictatorship that everything its enemies at home and abroad have charged against it is true. Khrushchev and his comrades stand self-exposed as criminals, as the long-time instruments and inheritors of a monstrous machine of terror and torture. We can only conjecture about the impact of the event upon their own subjects. But the outside world is taking the thing in its stride; far from being hor-

(*Continued on p. 22*)

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The Liberal Line...

WILLMOORE KENDALL

Lippmann on the Rack

There's not much harm, according to an eighteenth-century British witticism, in a two-guinea book; and ever since the eighteenth century men have appealed to some such notion in turning their backs on Milton's classic warning that books, like the dragon's teeth, may "spring up armed men." (Wherefore, Milton went on, state and church alike must keep a vigilant eye on how books behave themselves, as they do with men — must stand ready, when books are "malefactors," to confine, imprison, and do "sharpest justice" upon them.)

The witticism, of course, always had something wrong with it, namely, that it asserted a falsehood. For the book in question, if I remember rightly, was Tom Paine's *Rights of Man,* which by helping compound the evil influence of the French Revolution has, I should have thought, been a major malefactor. And it — or its contemporary equivalent — has a great deal more wrong with it today. Two guineas, what with continued inflation, are a lot easier to come by than they used to be. Potential readers, what with continued public school education, are far more numerous than they used to be. And the two-guinea book, what with changes in the publishing industry, is only too likely nowadays—particularly if it is a book the Liberal Propaganda Machine views with favor — to turn up at the corner drug-store, a few months after its original publication, in paper covers and with a price-tag of 35 cents, so that *anybody* can buy it. The two-guinea book's potential harm, in short, has been multiplied many times.

You will look in vain on your drug-store shelf for Richard Weaver's *Ideas Have Consequences,* or Russell Kirk's *The Conservative Mind,* or William Buckley's *God and Man at Yale* — which, though all of them kicked up quite a fuss in two-guinea editions, are *not* books the Machine views with favor. But Clinton Rossiter's plea for one-man rule in America, *The American Presidency,* goes into its two-guinea edition already scheduled for publication at thirty-five cents. And Mr. Walter Lippmann's *The Public Philosophy* (Mentor: 35¢) has for several weeks now been rubbing shoulders with *Mamie Stover* and *The Fifty-Minute Hour* on revolving steel racks all over the land. The Machine, in other words, is moving in, with the weightiest output of its very weightiest thinkers, on a new medium; and this column, taking Milton's advice, proposes to keep a "vigilant" eye on it in future.

Compelling and Provocative

A very good place to start, moreover, is with *The Public Philosophy,* which, according to Mentor's blurb-writer, is an analysis of the "challenges facing democratic societies." The author is, if you please, "America's leading political thinker." (Inside, to be sure, Mr. Lippmann gets downgraded to "one of America's leading political thinkers," presumably to make him sound a little less formidable just before the reader starts to read. And the back cover enables the masses to have their Lippmann and still be just like everyone else: For this is the same Mr. Lippmann, it assures them, whose "Today and Tomorrow" newspaper column is "read by 38 million people.")

"In this compelling and provocative work," the blurb asserts further, Lippmann calls upon Western man to "place the good of his fellow man above personal interest in order to preserve democracy at large . . ." And *The Public Philosophy* does, finally, get around to saying some very fine things about politics, with appeals to some very fine authorities like Aristotle, St. Thomas, Ernest Barker and Leo Strauss. But all that is in the second half of the book, far beyond the point at which most of the thirty-five-cent crowd will, surely, have fallen by the wayside. What the Machine is interested in, one may be sure, is the early pages of the book, whose "message" is, bar none, the most card-stacking onslaught on the democratic process that this columnist has ever seen from a writer nominally committed to "democracy."

The essence of "democracy" lies in a "sound relationship" between the elected assembly and the voters on the one hand, and the government, (that is, the executive power) on the other. This relationship, as we find it in contemporary democratic states, is suffering from a "functional derangement" — a constant drainage of power "away from the governing center and down into the constituencies," with the executive coming to consider himself, and to act as if he *were,* the representative of the voters.

What is wrong with "democracy," in other words, is too much interference with government by the voters and their congressmen and senators (so that, with the book's being published at a moment when public opinion is in full rebellion against the Liberal Line, we begin to see why the Machine is interested in getting wide circulation for it). In short, we have too much self-government: the assemblies have become "boss-ridden oligarchies, threatening the security, the solvency, and the liberties of the state." And the executive (for which read, the Eisenhower Administration) has become "enfeebled, often to the verge of impotence [!], by the pressures of the representative assemblies and of mass opinions." And, to drive the whole whopper home: "The executive has lost both its material and its ethereal powers. The assemblies and the mass electorates have acquired the monopoly of effective powers."

Moreover, these "facts" explain why "the decline of the power and influence of the Western democracies has been so steep and so sudden." Public opinion *insists* on being consulted — and public opinion invariably gives the wrong answer, which invariably takes the form of imposing an uncompromising No upon "the judgments of informed and responsible officials."

The remedy? You guessed it. Teach public opinion, *somehow,* to give those "informed and responsible officials" (read the bureaucracy) a free hand.

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Foreign Trends . . . w.s.

Bonn Buries Adenauer

The West German politicians are in an indecent hurry to bury Adenauer. *Der Alte* is no longer the old man of iron. A new insolence has penetrated Bonn and the atmosphere grows most ominous. All the complicated intrigues and manifold factional drives against Adenauer have this common denominator: with the one honorable exception of that wise man who for ten years has held the new Germany in the palm of his hand, everybody wants to get into Khrushchev's act.

That Germany never ceased to be Soviet Russia's strategic chief objective in Europe was, of course, known to everybody except Messrs. Roosevelt, Truman and Eisenhower. Thanks to the unfathomable Roosevelt-Truman-Eisenhower policies that virtually forced Eastern Germany upon the Red Army, the Soviet Union has obtained the decisive tool for burglarizing Western Germany: it is the only power in the world that—short of war — can grant German unification.

The operative word was always "short of war." Thus, as long as the Cold War remained the outstanding fact of the European situation, Western Germany could resist the Soviet lure. A final showdown seemed in the making and the Germans, fully confident of Adenauer's firm leadership, saw the only realistic hope for ultimate German unification in a forthcoming American victory over Soviet Communism. But Western Germany's position changed totally, and of necessity, when Mr. Eisenhower liquidated the Cold War at Geneva. Now that the American President has committed the U.S. to "peaceful coexistence" with Soviet Communism, the only realistic hope for German reunification becomes bilateral rapprochement between Bonn and Moscow.

And this was exactly why the Bolsheviks "changed": their main strategic interest was to liquidate the Cold War at practically any price—particularly if the price was to be paid by America. The Russian Communists have never doubted that World Communism would become altogether irresistible once Russia and Germany joined forces. From Lenin to Khrushchev, from 1917 to 1956, this one axiom has remained unshaken: that the goal of Communist grand strategy in Europe is to pull Germany from the Western orbit into the Communist camp (in Asia, and for the same reasons, the chief objective of Communist grand strategy, after the conquest of China, remains the rapprochement with Japan; and Khrushchev's "peace policy" is very fast obtaining that Asiatic objective also).

The incredible Pollyanna spirit that has passed for U.S. foreign policy since Geneva simply assumes (as Mr. Dulles has repeatedly whistled in the dark) that Dr. Adenauer, somehow, will avoid the unavoidable consequences of Mr. Eisenhower's surrender to Mr. Khrushchev's smile. For the trouble of all governmental propaganda has always been that the scheming propagandists finally believe their own inventions; and Mr. Dulles was no exception to that immutable rule of the nasty game; he ended up believing himself that Adenauer was a miracle man.

That, of course, Adenauer never was. A man of character and purpose, he knew how to make the most of American support and American faith in principle—so long as that support and that faith lasted. Once they were liquidated, Adenauer's doom became inescapable. And his decline gained momentum when *Der Alte* began to feel old age.

While he was healthy and so amazingly vigorous, the sheer animal vitality of this extraordinary man kept Bonn's politicians in check. But he has never fully recovered from last fall's illness. Ever since, he has been irritable and somewhat clumsy, even crude, in his responses to the growing opposition. And so, in the last few weeks the whole climate has been radically changing in Bonn.

In one recent week the non-Communist West German press has called Dr. Adenauer, among other things, "a national catastrophe," "Europe's Syngman Rhee," "the last Mohican of the Cold War." It has accused him of "blindness in both eyes," of "mental sterility" and "grotesque rigidity" vis-à-vis the developments in Moscow. And the chorus of West Germany's press turns into a fortissimo of demands for "elasticity" and "initiative"—in short for bilateral negotiations with Moscow.

This, I repeat, is the non-Communist and even anti-Communist press of Bonn. Its strident nervousness is symptomatic of the political reality it expresses. Adenauer's own party, the Christian Democrats, is getting hopelessly confused by Mr. Eisenhower's flirtation with Khrushchev and, even worse, it is getting restless over the problem of succession: factions are forming behind ambitious pretenders — none of the factions strong enough to assure the Bonn Republic of a firm continuation of Adenauer's policies, but most of them strong enough to endanger his shrinking parliamentary majority.

The other parties behave as if Adenauer were dead. The Social Democrats, who have no doubt that they will form the next government, already assume governmental tones in their increasingly cocky pronouncements in regard to the forthcoming "dialogue" with Moscow. The small Free Democratic Party, Adenauer's unreliable coalition partner, makes every other week another statement about its readiness to join the Social Democrats in domestic politics as well as in the great foreign adventure.

West Germany, for all practical purposes, is on the path to neutralism. No one can tell what terms the Bolsheviks will give a post-Adenauer West German government—whether they will permit "unifying elections" in the two halves of Germany (dependably rigged in Eastern Germany, of course) or whether they will hand over the East German Communists without further ado (with Trojan horse effectiveness assured, of course). There is even a further possibility that Moscow will throw in a bonus by correcting, in a contemptuous affront to Communist Poland, the German-Polish border. The point is that Moscow's chances to play the free world for a sucker are unlimited—so long as the U.S. remains married to Mr. Eisenhower's appeasement policy.

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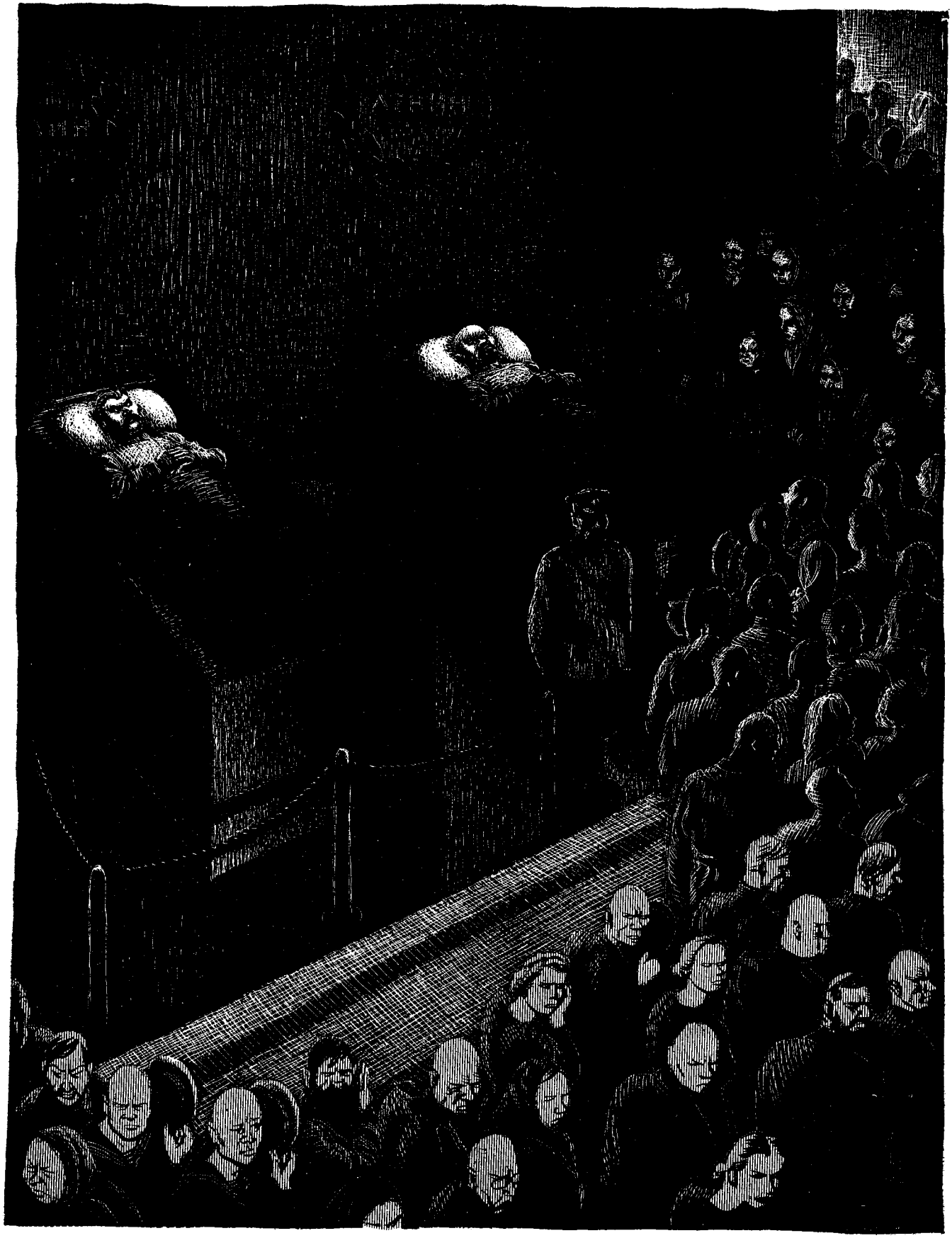

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Letter from the Continent

E. v. KUEHNELT-LEDDIHN

Views of Vatican City

Italy has remained the country of either highly publicized or very hidden saints. But only eighty years ago, the Church reached here the nadir in popularity, intellectual prestige, or spiritual force.

The refusal of the Holy See to yield to the forces of the *risorgimento* made the Vatican, willy-nilly, the foe of all national aspirations. Every king of Italy (until 1929) was excommunicated, and although he had a court chapel and a resident chaplain he was automatically barred from the Sacraments. Religious instruction was banned from the schools, good Catholics were forbidden by the Pope to participate actively in Italian politics, and the Supreme Pontiff resided as a voluntary-involuntary prisoner in his palace.

Today, Catholics more or less run the country, and a free-thinking Republican sadly told me the other day that Gioberti's dream had come true: a Church-State extended from the Alps to the Sicilian Straits.

The intelligent observer, however, will see the error of such a statement. American Catholics, instead of being embarrassed, may have felt proud when an American management consultant gave the Vatican the second-highest rating on his list of efficiently run corporations. European Catholic reaction was somewhat different. Some of the faithful wondered at this sort of analysis applied to a body whose claim is mainly spiritual; others were amused. On the whole, those who are nearer to "headquarters" have fewer illusions, and they recalled the words of Saint Augustine, *"et paupera et inops est ecclesia* (the Church is a poor and helpless thing)". The picture of the Pope, sitting like the president of a powerful company at his desk with numerous pushbuttons and phones, directing swiftly and deftly the affairs of the Church, giving commands which are carried out in a spirt of humble obedience, and with no questions asked; such a picture could only be conceived at a four-thousand-mile distance from the Holy See.

The Vatican is anything but a well-oiled machine. There are no pushbuttons, and the voice of the Supreme Pontiff makes itself heard, accepted and obeyed only with the greatest difficulty. Inside the Church, passionate ambitions clash and the most divergent ideas try to gain the upper hand and win official recognition.

The Vatican tries (often unsuccessfully) to cope with new problems and age-old problems. There are, for instance, the terrible problems of a persecuted Church reaching from a few miles behind Trieste to the middle of the Bering Straits. And then there are unsolved questions and matters of dissent: the Concordat with Germany and the renitent priest-workers of France; Argentine school legislation and the antics of La Pira; the economic theories of German Catholic firebrands and the revival of Rosminian philosophy; the inroads of Existentialism into French Catholic thought; the diplomatic relations with Indonesia; the financial problem of the utilization of Peter's pence in countries with a soft currency; the canonization of a saint made improbable by the clever arguments of the *advocatus diaboli;* the quarrel with the Knights of Malta; the ever-changing aspects of Reunion and the reform of the Index; subtleties of Canonic Law; the appointment of too bright a priest to a vacant See; the problem of a *modus vivendi* with Mexico; liturgical reforms; a whole avalanche of biological problems, from artificial insemination to the transplantation of live tissues.

And this is only a microscopic section of what the Vatican has to deal with daily. The output of Catholic books, periodicals and newspapers is so large that the center of the Church could not possibly keep up with the rapid intellectual evolution of a spiritual world comprising 400 million people. No wonder, therefore, that the general tendency in the Vatican has been to be more prudent, more reticent than ever, to put the brakes on and dampen the spirit of "enthusiasts."

A number of startling innovations were made in the last seven years of this Pontificate, but now the trend is to be more conservative, to move slowly rather than to stray in a wrong direction. Even so, many minor mistakes occur. Orders simply are not carried out. News is not disseminated. Encyclicals are wrongly interpreted or falsely translated. Commands are sometimes resisted openly. Still, most Catholics are consoled by the thought that this haphazardness and inefficiency has lasted two thousand years and that it will continue to the end of their days.

All this leads us to the question of the Papal succession. Nobody in Rome doubts that the next Pontiff is again going to be an Italian; and this with good reason. First of all, the political configuration of Italy is by no means settled; and an Italian Pope would help immensely in the handling of "the domestic situation." As things stand now, the Pope simply has to be an expert on Italian politics and this is a knowledge not easily acquired overnight. How — for argument's sake — would the present Patriarch of Lisbon, or Cardinal Frings of Cologne, mediate among Professor Gedda, Signor Pella and Amintore Fanfani?

One hears mentioned, as *papabili,* the names of Cardinal Siri of Genoa, of Cardinal Lercaro of Bologna, of Archbishop Montini of Milano. The recent elections in Genoa and Bologna, however, showed that the Leftists of these two cities have retained their strength; and nowadays such events reflect on the local ecclesiastic government. Archbishop Montini looks like the strongest candidate, although he is not even a Cardinal. In order to be elected Bishop of Rome it is, after all, merely necessary to be a male and a Catholic. *Theoretically* a greengrocer with twelve children could be made a successor of the Apostles and crowned with the Tiara. As things are now, and in spite of what I have said above, a "dark horse" could easily emerge from the next Conclave — an Armenian Cardinal belonging to the Uniate Rite, or even a Roman Monsignore whose name appears with surprising frequency in conversations.

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The Battle of Oregon

Federal vs private development of resources is the main issue in the Senatorial contest between Ex-Republican Morse and Ex-Secretary of the Interior McKay

ALFRED M. COOPER

One of the most interesting and significant of this year's senatorial contests is that in Oregon, to determine whether ex-college professor Wayne Morse or ex-Secretary of the Interior Douglas McKay shall represent that state for the next six years. Both contestants are colorful, both are seasoned campaigners; and the fight is bitter, with control of the Senate possibly hanging on the outcome.

Wayne Morse, a "liberal" Republican in New Deal days, later an Independent, and now a maverick Democrat, appears to relish the role of opositionist. Always far to the left ideologically, he frequently makes political capital — and headlines in home-state newspapers — by crying out against any measure that appears to meet the approval of a majority of his Senate colleagues.

Morse, as self-avowed champion of the workingman, of federal-power-or-nothing, of almost any type of government giveaway program, is a strong vote-getter, particularly among the organized timber and sawmill workers of Southern Oregon, and among those unions in the industrialized Portland area with membership made up primarily of unskilled workers. As in other states, members of the skilled-craft unions in Oregon tend to vote as they please, rarely following blindly the dictates of their leaders.

Douglas McKay, as a former state senator and governor, knows his way about in Oregon politics as well as anyone, and has no illusion that the fight to unseat Morse can be won without a hard-fought battle right down to the finish line. Although he appreciates the value of President Eisenhower's wholehearted endorsement of his candidacy, he knows full well that this alone cannot guarantee him victory in November. These state contests have a way of being decided largely on local issues, and Morse is skilled at creating such issues and making the most of them.

In Oregon, as in California, the Democratic registration exceeds that of the Republicans. In California this fact appears to have no bearing whatever on the outcome of elections for senators and governors, Republicans having held these offices since early New Deal days. In Oregon the same phenomenon may occur this year in the senatorial race.

It is also likely that a number of registered Republican followers of Phillip S. Hitchcock, whom McKay defeated in the primary, will vote for Morse. But it is equally likely that many registered Democrats this year will view ex-Republican Morse with suspicion, and cross party lines to vote for McKay.

Wallace-Type Liberal

Senator Morse, whose bolt cost the Republican Party control of the Senate, has been a caustic critic of the Eisenhower Administration. As a college professor, he was noted as an extreme academic leftist, of the type of Professor (now Justice) Felix Frankfurter. His speeches indicate that he is today fully as radical in his political thinking as was Henry Wallace when Secretary of Agriculture.

In the past, ultra-Liberalism has never been much of a handicap to a politician in the Pacific Northwest. The freewheeling voters of that area like their politics stormy and bitter. They are likely to vote for candidates who are colorful, dramatic, and forceful campaigners. They can also be mercurial, as when the citizens of Seattle booted a mayor out of office in one year's recall election, then re-elected him overwhelmingly only a year later.

Neither McKay nor Morse has ever been defeated in a contest for public office. The most astute political observers believe the Oregon race will be very close, and concede a slight edge to McKay, principally because of the Eisenhower endorsement in a year in which the President heads his party's ticket for re-election.

Morse, on the other hand, depends primarily upon the wholehearted support of those leaders of organized labor who believe they can keep their members in line to vote as they are told. In the past this support has sufficed; in this campaign, however, Eisenhower's strong endorsement of McKay is bound to influence the balloting among former members of the armed forces, regardless of union affiliation or party registration. That was the case in 1952, and there is every indication that it will be even more so in 1956.

It is also true that McKay himself is a veteran — a disabled veteran of World War One, who needed twelve years to recover from combat wounds. He gave up a thriving business to return to service in World War Two. This fighting record must be considered definitely an asset to him in the present campaign. He is particularly proud of his past record of having carried his own precinct, his own ward, his own city, and his own state, in every election in which he has participated, over a period of twenty-five years in public life.

There is no dearth of issues; and since McKay was a Cabinet officer in Eisenhower's Administration, many of these will of course be identical with those to be threshed out in the Presidential race itself. Thus, the Morse forces unquestionably will make capital of McKay's compromise stand for public or private power — whichever, in any instance, happens to be cheaper for the Oregon citizen. McKay's stand here is precisely that of President Eisenhower, as set forth in his Seattle speech of 1952.

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It is essentially a middle-of-the-road program, and it is noteworthy that McKay's defeated Republican opponent, Hitchcock, ran on the federal-power-or-nothing program always advocated by Wayne Morse. The fact is that surveys recently made in Oregon indicate that about 75 per cent of the voters there do not care who generates the electricity, provided only that it is cheap and plentiful.

McKay emphasizes that Congress, during the past twenty-five years, has appropriated $1.5 billion for Pacific Northwest power projects, but that in the next ten years $300,000,000 annually must be spent to keep up with the power needs in that area. He

Morse

points out that Congress cannot reasonably be expected to appropriate twice as much money for public power in the Northwest during the next ten years as it has in the past quarter century. Hence his stand for a partnership program of public and private power development.

Oregon voters also are listening to repercussions from the neighboring state of Washington, where in a number of instances the residents in Public Utility Districts, which for years have utilized public power exclusively, have voted to permit private power companies to operate within those districts.

The McKay forces believe that federal-power-or-nothing, as political pabulum, may have lost much of its appeal to a disillusioned, tax-weary electorate.

Morse will also contend that McKay, as Secretary of the Interior, "gave away" valuable federal timber land in Oregon to "lumber barons" by issuing patents on mining claims filed for the sole purpose of obtaining timber rights to these lands.

The only example Morse can cite here is that of the Al Serana claims filed in the Rogue River National Forest. And McKay's answer to this charge is that the Seranas (who happen to be Democrats) are mining people who have invested $200,000 in their Oregon mines and operate them with a force of more than fifty employees. These charges, he says further, were carefully investigated by a congressional committee strongly opposed to the Administration, and dropped without a report when it became evident that McKay had followed the law in issuing the patents.

Moreover, McKay asserts that in 1951, when he was Governor of Oregon, his Republican Legislature sent a memorial to Congress, asking it to tighten the mining laws in order to preclude the possibility of anyone filing a mining claim on timber lands with the intent to obtain timber. Morse ignored this memorial altogether, says McKay, and introduced no bill to implement it. Neither did he make any speeches in its support. It was not until 1955 that the Eisenhower Administration induced Congress to amend the law, to attain the objective sought in the memorial tendered four years earlier.

Protection of Wildlife

Again, Morse charges that McKay, as Secretary of the Interior, "gave away" precious wildlife reserves by opening public lands to oil and gas leasing. McKay answers that the Department's regulations governing this procedure were formulated in 1947, under a Democratic Secretary, and that in 1953 he issued a stop order to the Bureau of Land Management, suspending such leasing. In 1955 new regulations were drawn up, following specific recommendations of career specialists from the Fish and Wildlife Service. The chief of this branch later testified in a congressional hearing that the new regulations offered "100 per cent protection" to wildlife.

It is doubtful whether Morse will attempt to make political capital of the controversy over the Hell's Canyon hydroelectric power dams, since the authority to issue or refuse licenses to build such dams rests exclusively with the Federal Power Commission, an independent and nonpolitical branch of government. McKay contends that Morse's efforts to curb the authority of the FPC would result only in making Congress responsible for approving all federal power appropriations, in which event Oregon would certainly be consistently outvoted as having already received more than its share of federal funds for power development.

The foregoing series of attacks and parries follows the established procedure when the "outs" battle the "ins." McKay must defend the policies and actions of the Eisenhower Administration. Morse must as inevitably attack these to the best of his ability.

But it is already obvious that McKay, as an experienced campaigner, will not spend all of his time on defense. Morse, as one of the last of the old-line New Dealers, with a voting record that has often won the warm approval of the Communist ***Daily***

McKay

Worker, may well find himself with his back to the wall, fighting for his political life. Particularly will this be true should he learn that too many rank-and-file union members, upon whom he places his principal reliance, simply refuse to follow slavishly the dictates of their leaders. This situation can readily develop, since McKay has never opposed union labor.

Should McKay win, it will be obvious that exactly this has happened, just as it has happened before in such states as Ohio and California. Increasingly it becomes apparent that it is a serious error in political strategy to assume that workers will always vote as they are told to by their union bosses.

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From the Academy

RUSSELL KIRK

Summer Servitude

More than a hundred thousand persons in the United States are at this season entering upon involuntary servitude. They are teachers. There are more than a million teachers in America, and a large proportion of them attend summer schools at teachers' colleges and universities. Of those who so enroll, probably the majority do so reluctantly. They enroll, or else. Or else what? Or else they are denied advancement, increases in salary, and administrative approval at their schools; and, increasingly, the educationists' hierarchy in several states is forcing the teachers to become perpetual college-kids merely to retain their teaching-certificates. (Under the proposed new certification code of Michigan, for instance, the teacher would be kept in an unending insecurity, his tenure dependent upon his perennial return for retooling to what David Riesman calls "the patronage network of Teachers' College, Columbia.")

Ours is an age of cant. We are obsessed with tenure and social security, and yet make the teacher into a chameleon on an aspen leaf, trembling, changing, forever dependent upon the whim of the professional educationist. We give the teacher a little more money, and exhort him to "teach democratic living" and "encourage the development of personality" — and then subject him to the domination of an inquisitorial educationist oligarchy, and demand that he remold *his* personality upon the model of the late William Heard Kilpatrick. Our teachers, in short, are the victims of a shameful racket. And I do mean racket. If bricklayers were compelled, every summer, to pay heavy dues for the privilege of listening to dull lectures on the theory of bricklaying by a tight little knot of building-contractors; if physicians were ordered, annually, to devote what leisure they have to sitting about classrooms dozing through a rehash of what they learnt as undergraduates—why, such a racket would not endure for a month. But years of subjugation have broken the spirit of most teachers, apparently, and some even pretend to love their chains.

I put to you this one real case. A friend of mine teaches homemaking—that is, home economics, or domestic science—very competently, and likes the task. An intelligent girl, she keeps up with the latest developments in dressmaking and cookery and home decoration; she also reads a good deal in a general way, and has some independence of mind—more than many superintendents and principals have. As is true of all the better teachers, she teaches as much by personal example as by precept. Except that—being a product of our present American public-education process—she is imperfectly educated, she is a model teacher.

She has not the least objection to attending summer school somewhere, if only she should be permitted to learn anything there. Of domestic science, she already has a thorough mastery. What she desires, and needs, is a genuine liberalizing of her intellect. She would be glad to do graduate work in literature, languages, history, the arts or almost any other genuine discipline you might name. But she cannot.

For the hierarchy of the state board of education, and the people who run the teachers' colleges, and the heads of the departments of pedagogy, and the bureaucracy of the Michigan Education Association (for she teaches in Michigan, one of the states worst oppressed by doctrinaire and obscurantist educationist-bureaucrats of the sub-Kilpatrick breed) would never think of permitting such a deviation from their laws. A teacher is supposed to pursue graduate courses in education, and in education only. Moreover, these education courses are supposed to be related directly to the subject's particular field of teaching. If the subject teaches cookery, then she is required to return, year after year, to be indoctrinated afresh by the educationists of cookery in the dogmas of that curious realm of abstract vocationalism. No teacher is going to be liberally educated if the masters of the system can help it. Not being liberally educated themselves, they might be in a rather bad way if the majority of the teachers who now are their servants were allowed any opportunity for genuine intellectual freedom. As Mr. Wyndham Lewis suggests in his *Rude Assignment*, our age is afflicted with a body of persons who, though they talk of "education for democracy" and are doctrinaire egalitarians, in fact desire to keep the mass of the population in leading-strings, so that they may have beneath themselves a great crowd of quarter-educated to whom they may condescend. The genuinely educated man is anathema to these half-educated and tyrannical pedants.

Now there are some decent courses taught in the summer schools for teachers, and some decent professors at work in the departments of education; but they are few. What Dr. Harold Clapp calls "the stranglehold on education" keeps them few. In the most literal sense, the educationist hierarchy has a vested interest in forcing the luckless teacher to come back to them, summer after summer, to enroll in boring and worthless courses. This keeps departments of education large and prosperous. Only a concerted rebellion of the oppressed teachers, probably, could break this organized sham. Perhaps some aid may be found in this quarter or that, however. The American Federation of Teachers (not to be confounded with the Teachers' Union, a Communist-controlled organization) already has been growling against the high-handed ways of the National Education Association and its affiliates.

I do not think the American teacher is so feckless a creature that he needs to be sent back to college every summer for retooling. As the courses are organized at present, certainly he would be better off fishing, or dicing, or playing ticktacktoe. If he were emancipated, he might even spend a summer reading good books. His present servitude is calculated to make him detest all the works of the mind—and no wonder.

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

Not For This No-Man

WILLMOORE KENDALL

A story must have a beginning, and *Eisenhower: The Inside Story,* by Robert Donovan (Harper, $4.95) begins after lunch on a historic occasion in the Commodore Hotel. The President-Elect of the United States, Dwight Eisenhower, is surrounded by the statesmen of whom he is later to say that "never in the whole of American history had there been a cabinet like this one," and he has just finished reading to them the latest draft of his inaugural address. Applause resounds through the room.

"I read it," Mr. Eisenhower says in his best "Aw, shucks" manner, "far more for your blue pencils than for your applause"—thus, as you and I—but not Mr. Donovan—may notice, not flatly excluding the applause. And he wants them to know why: "At first, in our attempt to state a philosophy of government and of intent, we were not close enough down to our daily living . . . [so] we have been gradually rewriting it."

Charlie Wilson is the first to produce a blue pencil: "I think it is wonderful."

Mr. Eisenhower drives the point home: "You have got to bring basic principles down to living . . . You want every person there to carry home with him a conviction that he can do something." He flashes what Mr. Donovan characterizes as that "leaping and effortless smile that seems the warmer for the sternness or impassivity from which it springs," and then proceeds: "I had in here in one place that peace rests squarely on . . . productivity, and I am pointing out that everybody can help in productivity . . . I think it is still in here a little bit, but . . . I have gotten confused . . . You remember we have talked about it," he adds *ad hominem* to his chief speech writer, "and it l-ways eludes us."

Charlie Wilson gets the pitch, and tries to help put it back in. "I have one little thing on productivity," he says. "It is the urge . . . to accomplish more with the same human effort . . . A free society stimulates the efficiency of the millions . . . We should urge that we accomplish more with the same effort for the good of all."

Then Ezra Benson's blue pencil goes into motion: "It is on a high plane . . . I think it is wonderful."

And Wilson again: "I did not see anything I would want to change. When you started to talk about productivity being left out, you gave me this other idea."

Mr. Eisenhower, quick as a flash, hands down his ruling.

"We can get in something on that," he says. "We want to keep it on a high spiritual plane with exhortation," he says also, "but at the same time trying to relate it to our daily living."

The Inside Story, I say, has a beginning; what it alas doesn't have, except in the sense that there is a p. 407, which happens to be the last page in the book, is an ending—by which, I hasten to add, I do not mean what some people might think, but merely that it just keeps on being the beginning over and over again.

Everybody on the horizon is always keeping things on a high spiritual plane. Everybody is always thinking everybody else is Just Wonderful, especially everybody collectively, "the Team," and still more especially You Know Who. Everybody is always trying to get something "back in" that keeps eluding Everybody, and for the same sempiternal reason that if it isn't got back in somehow, the Cause of Peace will suffer. The Balanced Budget, for example, keeps eluding Everybody (because Defense against Communism keeps on squeezing it out), then gets "back in" by an adroit bookkeeping operation. Defense against Communism keeps eluding Everybody (because the Balanced Budget keeps on squeezing it out), and gets back in via the discovery that if Dwight Eisenhower looks at the Over-All Military Picture, and finds it good, then Curt LeMay's anxieties are beside the point. The intellectual level of the deliberations, though you might think at first glance it has nowhere to go but up, either remains monotonously the same or slips lower still—but without changing the story, because the further the deliberations sink, the more they become themselves. Finally (Mr. Donovan makes the point, in spite of himself), there is never a moment, never in three interminable years, when Dwight Eisenhower hasn't Gotten Confused, and never a moment when something, National Policy on this or that, isn't being "rewritten" so as to let something back in and still assert what it did before—namely, nothing.

I take it back: one thing changes, and as it changes, slightly changes the story. Now and then Mr. Eisenhower and his Yes-men run up against some No-men, and we get a glimpse of another Mr. Eisenhower whom, for lack of a better phrase, I would call, simply, the Real Mr. Eisenhower. There's Syngman Rhee, for example, who impudently and unaccountably resents being euchered out of North Korea, and still more impudently and unaccountably goes and *does* something that Mr. Eisenhower doesn't approve of. There are those congressional investigating committees, which have caused the President "more than one excruciating embarrassment" (the Administration, Eisenhower comment-

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ed, "should first be allowed to investigate itself"). There is Senator Bricker, with his tiresome chant about amending the Constitution by treaty. There are those "Right-wing Republicans," the "extreme conservatives," always reminding the President of those Right-wing noises he made back when he was a candidate, and refusing, stubbornly, to be educated in the ways of progressive moderation, always expecting National Policy to echo those noises, and always unable to get it through their heads that Conservative equals Liberal equals Moderate equals Progressive equals Traditionalist. There are the Congressmen who have repeatedly "deserted him to cater to the home-town vote." Always, of course, there's Joe McCarthy, with his "antics," his "tactics," his "disheartening spectacles," and his "gaudy inquiries." Finally, there is the people, who "appall" the President by their "almost complete lack of information . . . on subjects we have talked about . . ."

Mr. Donovan's chief literary effort in connection with *The Inside Story* appears to have gone into the search for verbs and adjectives expressing Mr. Eisenhower's reaction to these No-men. The President "fretted." The President "was exasperated." The President was "astonished." "It was almost incomprehensible to him that any Republicans could doubt the sincerity of his own motives." "This harassed and aggravated Eisenhower." His "vexation" (vis-à-vis the Right-wingers) "reached such extremes" that he considered founding a new political party. The President "sometimes simply exploded with exasperation." "The thought of eighty investigations got Eisenhower's back up. Be affirmative, he bade the Cabinet."

But I have cited enough examples to prove my point: What emerges from the pages of Mr. Donovan's book, though certainly not because Mr. Donovan intended it, is a picture of a Real Mr. Eisenhower who knows, and reduces to meaninglessness, all the answers, and can counter any objection—to his own satisfaction, at least —in terms, variously, either of Who He Is, or Where He's Been, or What He's Done.

But not, for these reasons, and several others, this No-man's Ideal President.

Convincing Case

Brainwashing: The Story of Men Who Defied It, by Edward Hunter. 310 pp. New York: Farrar, Straus and Cudahy. $3.75

Edward Hunter's earlier book gave the world a new word: brainwashing. He defined it as the calculated destruction of men's minds, as psychological warfare against the very concept of freedom and free will.

In his new book, the author differentiates between brainwashing and brain-changing. "The former," says Hunter, "referred to pressures just short of the atrocity of overt interference by medical science with the functions of the brain." "Brain-changing," on the other hand, "means alterations in thinking brought about by the sort of treatment hitherto identified with a doctor's prescription or a surgeon's scalpel." He cites Cardinal Mindszenty as one who underwent brain-changing. Information most persistently tracked down in his case indicates the use of both drugs and hypnotism.

The methods used are borrowed freely from evangelism, psychiatry and science. The Communists take over and pervert the language of these fields. As the author puts it: "Brainwashing is a combination of this fake evangelism and quack psychiatry in a setting of false science."

The long-range objective of brainwashing is to make converts who can be depended on to react as desired at any time, anywhere. As the author says, "The retention of his own individuality by a single person is recognized as a deadly menace by the whole monolithic structure." The brainwashing process is

> a series of pressures, including arrest or house detention, isolation from outside sources of information, interrogation, endless and repetitive assertions by teams of psychological workers, fatigue, malnutrition, exhaustion, autosuggestion and, finally, the mergence of obsessions, hysterical states, in which confessions are freely given and the subject can no longer distinguish his beliefs from reality or properly recall his past fund of information.

It is tragic to learn how the hopelessness-inevitability complex which the Reds induced in military POWs and civilians was aided by Attlee and Bevan and other VIPs, who were taken through the "Model Reform" Prison in Peking, permitted not a single word with a single inmate, and then exploited as proof that the prisoners could hope for no help or sympathy from the outside.

Most of Hunter's new book, however, is concerned with men who successfully defied brainwashing, and he makes a convincing case for the possibility of resistance. The techniques used consciously or unconsciously by those who defied the Reds, he believes, can be disseminated throughout the world, even in the satellite states, and can wreck Communism's most potent weapon.

What Mr. Hunter suggests, actually, is "mental vaccination." One American colonel, who had "confessed" to germ warfare and is now in prison, said to the author: "I would have given my soul to have known those facts."

GERALDINE FITCH

Bibliography Defined

How to Plan for College and What to Do When You Get There, by John W. McReynolds. 136 pp. New York: Simon and Schuster. Paper, $1.95; cloth, $3.95

In these pages Mr. McReynolds elucidates "the mysteries [*sic*] of college entrance, college courses and college life." If you study his revelations, you will discover, for instance, that "some [college] catalogs have very complete indexes, and some do not," that "a *coed* is a girl who attends a coeducational college — one which admits both men and women as students," and that "bibliography is a good thing to know. It means a list of books on a given topic." You also discover, without being told, that a high school senior who *needs* Mr. McReynolds' book or can read it without a derisive grin is obviously unfit for work in a reputable college.

Indeed, this manual might have some utility as a means of spotting the stupid and the childish for elimination, if we had a rational and honest educational system. But instead it carries an enthusiastic foreword by the chancellor of a great university who unblushingly yearns "to see every high school boy and girl in the United States furnished with a personal copy," because, as he avows

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with only slight circumlocution, such intensive advertising would touch off a new boom in the diploma business. The chancellor has doubtless discovered a promising field for Federal Aid. And when our masters who are in Washington have shoved a "personal copy" into the hands of every boy and girl, Mr. McReynolds will have a market for a book on how to read a book on how to read a college catalogue. REVILO OLIVER

No Kiddies' Delight

The Tiger Wore Spikes, by John McCallum. 240 pp. New York: A. S. Barnes and Company. $3.95

It seems as though all of our once local, indigenous and unself-conscious activities, from jazz-singing to square-dancing to any of the sports, have lost their innocence — the rough, improvised spirit that made them worth watching in the first place — and entered a stage in which everything about them is prearranged, overmanaged, ruled out and boxed in.

For instance, baseball today seems not so much a game, an expenditure of skill and risk for its own arbitrary sake, as a vastly organized front for breakfast cereals. The dozen or so men arrayed on a diamond bear not only the weight of millions of passive TV spectators, but thousands of intricately interdependent and highly paid agents, specialists, sportscasters, ad copy writers and miscellaneous arrangers. No wonder the old wildness has vanished from the game! Baseball Greats are no longer being made, and a glossy, untemperamental efficiency prevails in the big leagues.

Ty Cobb got out of baseball in 1928, and John McCallum has recounted his career through "the Golden Era of Sport" with infectious relish and play-by-play detail. He was no goody-goody Kiddies' Delight. He was a big, rough, shrewd, base-stealing, often brutal, but always self-exacting player who knew his own mind, and played his game to the hilt. He still does: The best parts of this biography are his own brash remarks. ROGER BECKET

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Brief Mention

Tecumseh: Vision of Glory, by Glenn Tucker. 399 pp. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company. $5.00

Tecumseh, who possessed an intelligence and tenacity of purpose seldom found in members of his race, was the white man's most formidable enemy in North America. His achievements during the War of 1812, although largely made possible by the support somewhat reluctantly given him by the British, left so enduring a memory that even in our generation the victor in certain children's games is acclaimed by the chant, "He has shot Tecumseh!" This biography is well written, although it is not entirely free of the tendency to idealize the aborigines and disparage the whites which has been a conventional part of such narratives ever since romantic misses wept over Chateaubriand's *Atala* or sighed as they read *Les Natchez.* R.P.O.

A History of Europe: From the Invasions to the XVI Century, by Henri Pirenne, translated by Bernard Miall. 625 pp. New York: University Books. $7.50

This is the first American printing of the concise survey written by one of the most distinguished modern historians while he was detained by Germany during World War One. His interpretations are always stimulating and usually cogent, so that no one interested in European history can afford to ignore them.

Like most synoptic works which contain original views on history, however, this book can be recommended with confidence only to readers who already possess some knowledge of the field that it covers. There are fairly numerous instances of compression or oversimplification which are apt to mislead a neophyte. An uninformed reader would, for instance, infer from pp. 296-7 that the Albigenses were primarily "proletarian workers" who advocated Communism, and that it was for this reason that they were suppressed by "the French barons."

It is true that the Albigenses were a sect of Cathari and so presumably inherited the primitive social superstitions of that widespread and multiform heresy, but they cannot have been an economic or social menace. They were protected by the Counts of Toulouse and most of the local aristocracy of Languedoc. The barons to whom Pirenne refers came from Northern France to conquer for themselves domains in a land richer and more amene than their own. R.P.O.

Narratives of Exploration and Adventure, by John Charles Frémont. Edited with an Introduction by Allan Nevins. 532 pp. New York: Longmans, Green. $8.50

In fiction and films we continue to nurse our trussed and hobbled lives on the randy mythos of the Great American West. Its *mises en scène* are worn smooth with familiarity: unlicensed Indians, tax-free prairies, non-regulated buffaloes and pre-bureaucratic white men have become totems our nostalgia never seems to tire of.

But we see them in the movies as, say, we read Homer in English. The translation may be faithful, but it remains a translation. Those Cheyennes are actually Los Angeles actors, and some script writer planned that raid. No amount of skillful re-creation can equal the potency of the original.

For this; for real Indians—fiercer sometimes than RKO would ever dare suggest; for real landscapes—botanically, geologically fixed; for real white men—Sutter and Kit Carson in the flesh—we should go to a man like Frémont. He was *there,* not in Hollywood, and from his scrupulous, disinterested reports, Allan Nevins has culled a vivid anthology which anyone who has ever read, watched, or daydreamed a "Western" ought to try on for size. R.B.

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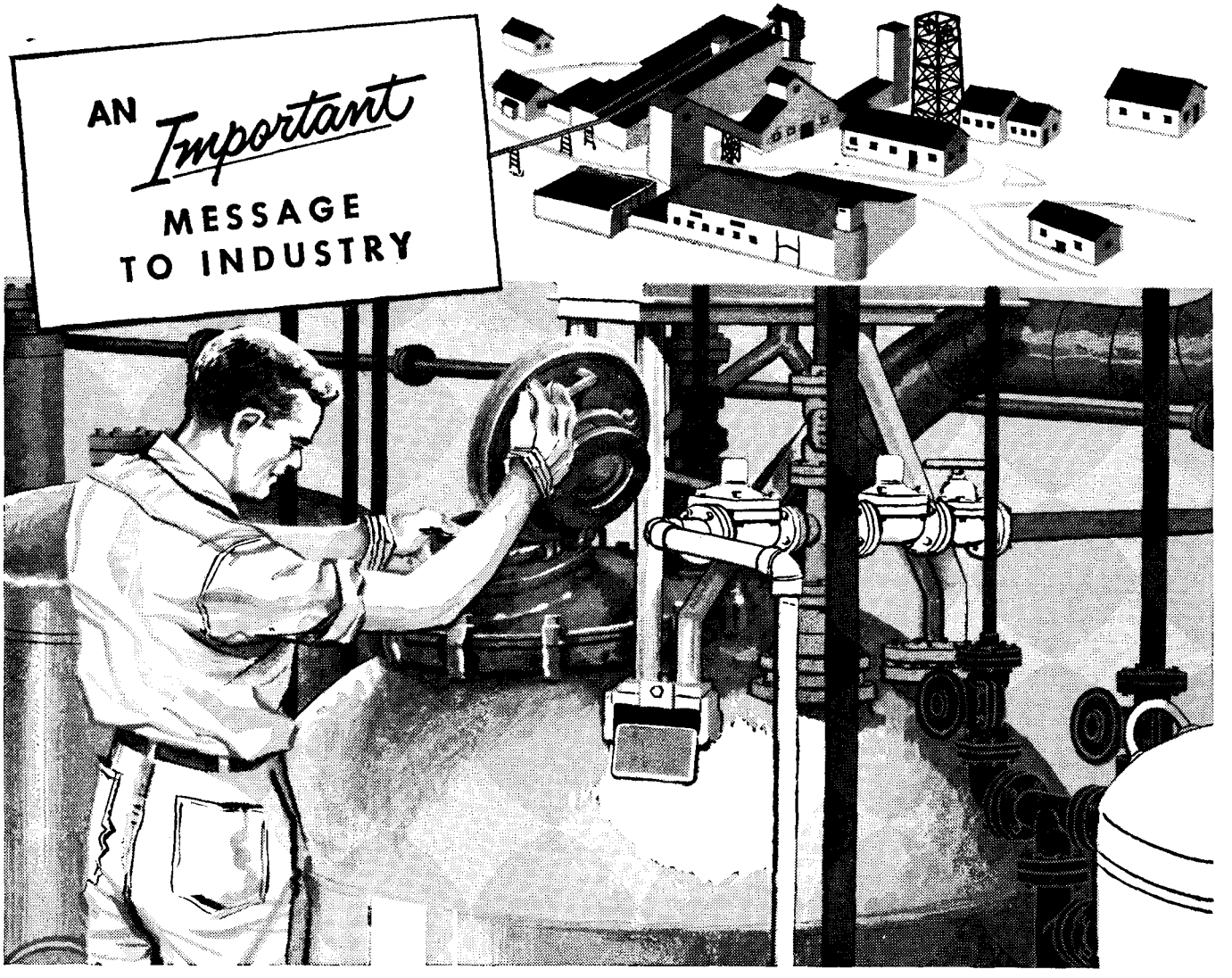

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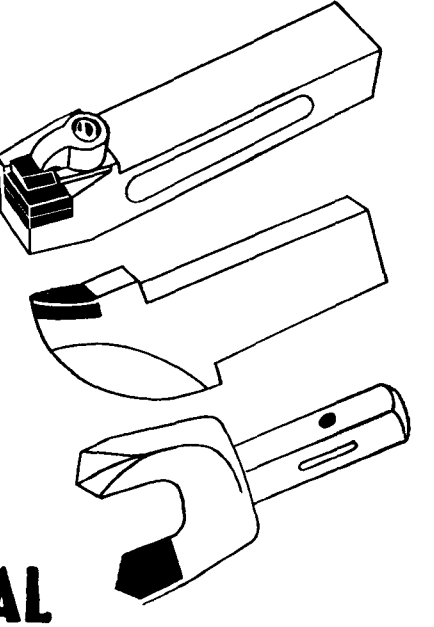

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To the Editor

Cartoons

. . . we just received the July 4 issue of NATIONAL REVIEW. The new cartoons are tremendous.

San Francisco, Cal. WILLIS A. CARTO

. . . The July 4 issue is the best you have had so far and excellent throughout. Kreuttner's cartoons, particularly the accompanying comments, are fine. Like your cartoon of Picasso in bed, painting with his toes [May 30], they summed up the story where a thousand words might have failed.

Forest Hills, N.Y. M. E. BURCH

. . . I like the spread of Kreuttner cartoons and the Batchelor cartoon in the same issue [July 4]. Batchelor is now, to my mind, about the best in the business. Like the late "Ding" Darling, he has two advantages over most others. He is an artist, and he has ideas.

Bernardsville, N.J. RODNEY GILBERT

"Relict"

In the Forrest Davis article [June 27] the word *relict* in the first paragraph looked wrong to me. I looked it up. Oxford and Webster give only one meaning: a widow. They give *relic,* however, as "a monument of the past," or an "object interesting for age or associations," and I think that's what was meant about an old building near Gramercy Park. Do you think this is as bad as writing *flaunt* for *flout?*

New York City INDIGNANT SUBSCRIBER

We refer our indignant subscriber to Vol. VIII of the Oxford Dictionary. There (p. 406) he will find, under definition "3," the following: "a surviving part." Also: "[3]b, a surviving trace, survival." —THE EDITORS

The Liberal Machine

Unless I misinterpret your position, you appear to believe there is no central, guiding association behind your "Liberals." Until the guides are searched out, names disclosed, aims revealed, the fight against the "Liberals" is a sham battle. . . . To arrive at the real answers will require much research, to "call the shots" against the real powers, to name names will take quite a bit of courage. . . .

Valencia, Pa. JAMES T. LAPPAN

Good Combination

In the June 27 issue, Russell Kirk's column follows that of William S. Schlamm. Isn't this the best double-play combination around?

Taylorsville, Ill. EDWARD J. MURPHY

Responsibility

. . . I enjoy your magazine. I don't agree with about 50 per cent of your opinions, but you make me mad and sometimes make me think. That's a tremendous responsibility for a magazine to have—making people mad and making people think.

Pittsburgh, Pa. PAUL J. ROOS

Lausche or Shivers

The candidates that I selected in your contest as the winners [names withheld] are another valid reason for the continued success of your magazine. When we can get political parties to nominate men like Lausche or Shivers, then we will have some real candidates. . . .

Bronx, N.Y. ALFRED J. BRODERICK

From a Former Communist

. . . had NATIONAL REVIEW been born onto this hectic planet in the year 1931, I'd never have been a Communist. A rebel, yes, for I was bred one and still am one. . . . I took the wrong turning due mostly to the change in New England I had lived through. Only I thought capitalism was the Frankenstein. . . .

When I came upon *Soviet Russia Today* and *Das Kapital,* I went off onto a road opposite in direction to my very nature. . . . In seeking individualism, my brain went all out for collectivism. I've no one to blame but myself. And I have a great store of thanks to NATIONAL REVIEW.

Brooklyn, N.Y. NAME WITHHELD

Invigorating

I cannot resist telling you how highly I esteem the work you are doing in creating this much-needed journal—in which you continue to combine many-sided good counsel, good taste, and good punch. It invigorates a class of thoughtful persons who have long lacked a suitable medium to voice their convictions. . . .

Pass-A-Grille, Fla. S. J. KORNHAUSER

American Blunders

. . . I do not grieve with Raymond Cartier [May 2] over France "humiliated and desperate . . . being pushed into the Soviet system." France has made its own bed and chosen Moscow-style.

I agree with Mr. Cartier that America has made blunders, but they were made by the people we elected because we believed their promises, and their actions have been a different story. They are the actions of greedy men with "One World" aspirations, trying to get and keep power. . . .

Oakland, Cal. RUTH E. KIHN

THE ANATOMY OF NEUTRALISM

(*Continued from p. 10*)

rified by the nightmarish disclosures, it tells itself about the "new-look" in the Kremlin's prison-lands, and rubs its hands with delight.

What Stalin's successors need most urgently, in order to rehabilitate themselves in the eyes of their own populations, is precisely the kind of prestige and acceptance the free world, in its neutralist trance, is giving them without stint. If some future Gibbons writes the history of the fall of our Judaeo-Christian civilization, he will have a symbolic episode ready to hand: the lovely Queen of England fraternizing with two blood-stained members of the mob that murdered her Romanoff kinsmen and—the chilling touch—bringing in her innocent babes to meet the honored guests. The scene, which was duly played up on the front pages of the Moscow press, offers dramatic proof of the fading of honor, self-respect and plain decency in a world earmarked—nay, marked by *itself*—for Communist conquest.

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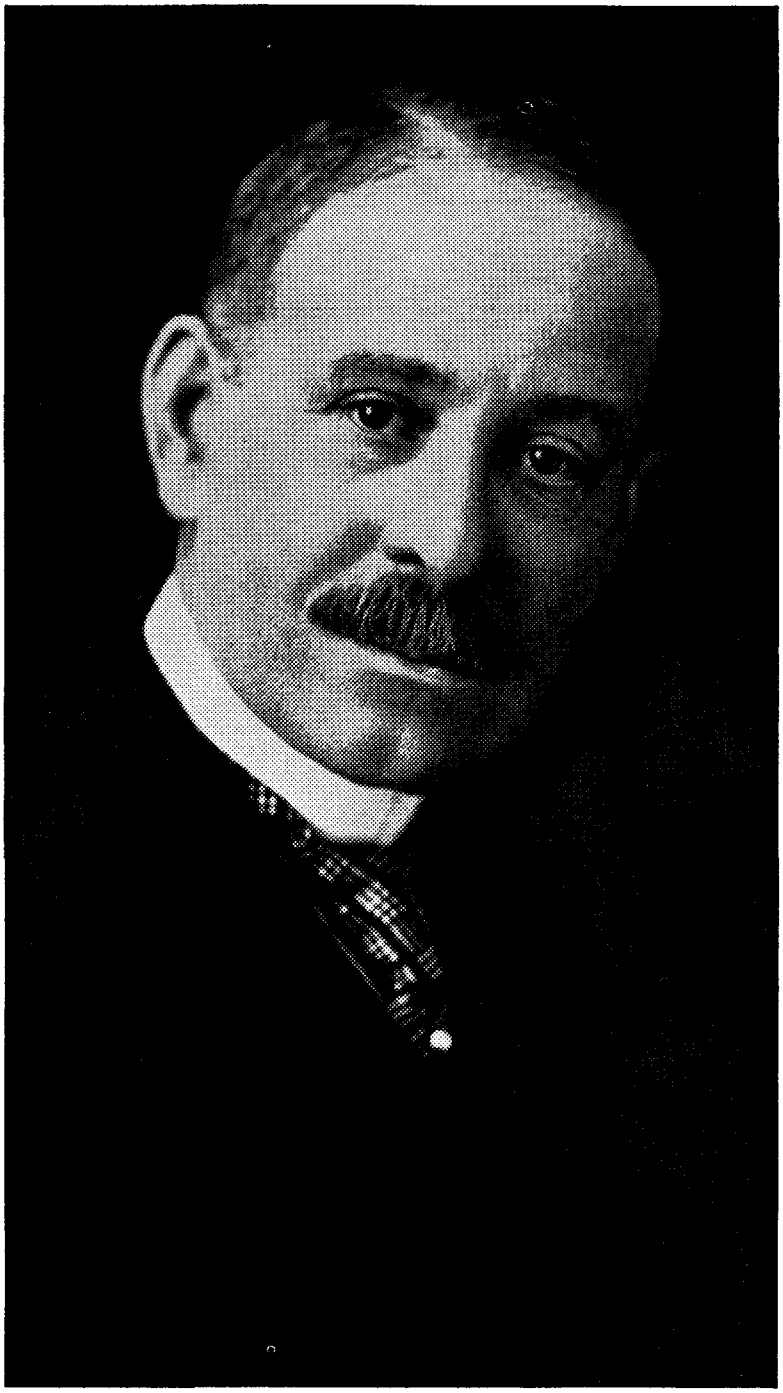

DIAGNOSIS: knife wound in the heart

UNDER THE blazing blue sledge hammer of a Chicago heat wave, the cramped, makeshift operating room shimmered like an oven, reeking of ether and carbolic. Six sweat-drenched, frock-coated doctors huddled in fascination, watching deft hands reach into a human chest and expertly stitch up a wound in the redness of a pulsing heart.

Would he live? The surgeon mopped his brow and hoped. The year was 1893; the operation, fantastic.

Live? Yes, he would live for many more years, thanks to the skill and courage of Dr. Daniel Hale Williams.

Abandoned as a child, Williams, a Negro, had struggled hard for his medical education. Now only 37, he had already founded America's first interracial hospital, Provident. And here he had just performed the first of the pioneering operations that would mark him as one of our country's great surgeons.

Sensitive and brave, Daniel Hale Williams was blessed with an abundance of the same urge to help his fellow man that binds and strengthens Americans today.

And it is these strong, unified Americans who are our country's real wealth—the real backing behind our nation's Savings Bonds. In fact, they're the true reason why U. S. Savings Bonds are considered one of the world's finest, safest investments.

For your own security—and for America's—why not invest in Savings Bonds regularly? And hold on to them!

It's actually easy to save—when you buy Series E Savings Bonds through the Payroll Savings Plan. Once you've signed up at your pay office, your saving is done *for you*. The Bonds you receive pay good interest—3% a year, compounded half-yearly when held to maturity. And the longer you hold them, the better your return. Even after maturity, they go on earning 10 years more. So hold on to your Bonds! Join Payroll Savings today—or buy Bonds where you bank.

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Here's Your Last Chance!

"Pick the Candidates!" Contest Ends

The final entry blank appears below.

Important Note: "E" series blanks must be postmarked on or before August 1, 1956. No entry postmarked later can be considered.

10 Prizes 10

FIRST PRIZE: $1,500 credit toward a vacation to one of the following: Europe, Mexico, Hawaii or the Caribbean islands. Arranged by the Margaret Cone Travel Service, 520 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

SECOND PRIZE: Westinghouse console model color television set.

EIGHT ADDITIONAL PRIZES: A $50 certificate for books of your choice from the Bookmailer, "The Complete Bookstore by Mail," Box 101, Murray Hill Station, New York, N. Y.

OR

A $50 certificate for records of your choice from the Record Hunter, "The World's Largest Selection of Recorded Classical Music," 1200 Lexington Avenue, New York, N. Y.

Contest Rules

1. Any resident of the United States above eighteen years of age may enter (except employees of NATIONAL REVIEW and their families).
2. To enter the contest, each contestant must fill out four official entry blanks (or facsimiles) with predictions as follows:
   a) The 1956 Republican nominees for President and Vice President
   b) The 1956 Democratic nominees for President and Vice President
   c) The number of first ballot votes (out of a possible 1323) for the Republican Presidential nominee
   d) The number of first ballot votes (out of a possible 1372) for the Democratic Presidential nominee
3. Beginning with the March 7 issue, NATIONAL REVIEW is publishing one entry blank each week for twenty successive weeks. These blanks will be numbered as follows: A1, A2, A3, A4; B1, B2, B3, B4; C1, C2, C3, C4; D1, D2, D3, D4; E1, E2, E3, E4.
4. Each contestant must fill out the four complete blanks of one set (i.e. the "C" set, "D" set, etc.), and must send in all four at one time, in one envelope. Each contestant may send in one entry of each set — five possible entries in all. (It is not necessary to buy NATIONAL REVIEW in order to enter. You may apply for entry blanks at NATIONAL REVIEW's office at 211 East 37th Street, New York 16, N.Y.; but, to facilitate handling, only one blank can be supplied on each application.)
5. The contest will close on August 1, 1956. Final entries must be postmarked not later than 11 P.M. on that date. Winners will be notified on or before September 15, 1956.
6. All entries must be addressed to: "Pick the Candidates!" Room 202, 211 East 37th Street, New York 16, N.Y.
7. The standing of the contestants will be determined by the number of candidates correctly named, with ties decided by the relative accuracy of the first ballot estimates. If ties still remain, tie-breaking questions will be assigned.
8. The editors of NATIONAL REVIEW will act as judges. Their decision on all matters will be final.
9. Entries to this contest will not be accepted from states where prize contests are prohibited by state or local law.

Official Entry Blank E-4

"Pick the Candidates!" Contest

When properly filled out and submitted together with complete entry blanks E-1, E-2 and E-3, this will constitute an official entry to NATIONAL REVIEW's "Pick the Candidates!" contest, subject to the contest rules. Address your entry to "Pick the Candidates!" Room 202, 211 East 37th St., New York 16, N. Y.

I predict that the number of first ballot votes for the Presidential nominee at the 1956 Democratic Convention will be:

_____

_____

My Name

_____

Address

_____

City Zone State

(The editors of NATIONAL REVIEW request the following information, which is not, however, an entry requirement for the contest.)

I suggest that the following might be interested in NATIONAL REVIEW:

_____

Name

_____

Address

_____

City Zone State

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